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L E T T E R
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EDMUND BURKE, Esq;
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
CITY OF BRISTOL,

A N D
AGENT FOR THE COLONY OF NEW YORK, &c.

IN ANSWER TO
HIS PRINTED SPEECH,
SAID TO BE SPOKEN IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
ON THE TWENTY-SECOND OF MARCH, 1775.

SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

BY JOSIAH TUCKER, D. D.
DEAN OF GLOCESTER.

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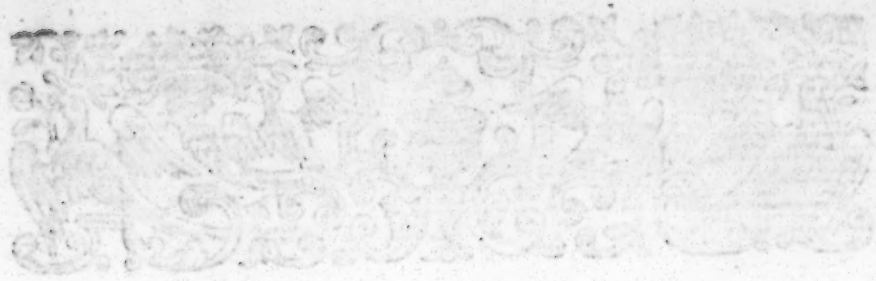
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THE present critical Juncture obliges the Author to postpone his Animadversions on Mr. LOCKE's Theory of Government for some Time longer. But the Public may be assured, that he has not dropped the Design; and that he only postpones it because the present Subject seems to require a more immediate Attention. In the mean while, the Learned and Judicious will easily perceive from several Parts of this Discourse, and particularly from what he has advanced, Page 11, that he is fixed in his Plan, and that he has selected these Positions out of Mr. LOCKE's Book for his future Animadversion, which are the most inconsistent with any Form of Government, Republican or Monarchical, and therefore the most dangerous to real Liberty.



ADVERTISEMENT

It is a general critical judgment
of the author to publish his
observations on Mr. Locke's
theory of government for some
time past. But the Public
may be sure, that he has not
written this, and that he only proposes it
as a subject for to require a more
careful attention. In the mean while, the
learned and judicious will easily perceive from
several parts of the Discourse, and particularly
from the last, that he has advanced, Page 11, that he is
not in the least, and that he has (liberally) per-
mitted one of Mr. Locke's Book for his future
observations, which are the most inconsistent with
the sense of Government, Republicanism or Liberty.
And therefore the said discourse is sent



T O

EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
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A N D

AGENT FOR THE COLONY OF NEW YORK, &c.

S I R,



S you have been pleased to bestow much Abuse and Scurrility on me in your public Speech of the 19th of *April*, 1774;—and also many Commendations in private both before, and since that Publication;—I shall take no other Notice of either, than just to assure you, that I am neither elated by your Praises, nor chagrined at your Censures; and that I hold myself indifferent in respect to both. My Business with you
is

is solely of a public Nature; and therefore, without farther Preface, I beg Leave to inform you, that I propose to examine your last Performance, entituled, *The Speech of EDMUND BURKE, Esq; March 22, 1775*, with as much Freedom, as you do the Writings and Opinions of other Men; but, I hope, with more Decency and good Manners.

IN this Speech you lay down certain Premises respecting the Disputes between the Parent-State and her Colonies: And from them you infer a most extraordinary Conclusion. My Province it shall be to enquire, whether this Conclusion is justly and regularly made;—and whether a quite different one ought not to have been drawn from such Premises.

My only Difficulty is, to state your Meaning with Accuracy and Precision:—Not that you yourself are unable to express your own Thoughts with the utmost *Clearness*, as well as *Energy*; but you are *unwilling*. For you excel in the Art of ambiguous Expressions, that is, in giving one Sense to your Readers, and of reserving another to yourself, if called upon to defend what you have said;—you excel, I say, in this Art, perhaps the most of any Man living. Sometimes you express more than you mean; and at other Times less; but at all Times, you have one general End in View, viz. To amuse with Tropes and Figures, and *great swelling Words*

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Words, your Audience or your Readers, and not to let them see your Drift and Intention, 'till you have drawn your Net around them.

AT Page 15 [1st Edit.] you observe, "That
" in the Character of the *Americans*, a Love of
" Freedom is the predominating Feature,
" which marks and distinguishes the whole:—
" And that the *Americans* become suspicious,
" *restive* and *untractable*, whenever they see the
least Attempt to wrest from them by Force, or
" Shuffle from them by Chicane, what they
" think the only Advantage worth living for."

SIR, I perfectly agree with you in your Description: And I will add farther, what you chuse to conceal, that the same People were *restive* and *untractable* from the Beginning. For as far back, as the 7th and 8th of King *William* C. 22. §. 9. [1696] it appears, that they manifested the plainest Intention of disowning the Authority of the *English* Legislature in every Instance, which they thought incompatible with their own Interest. Nay, it is evident from the Words of the Act, that even at this early Period, they pretended to set up Laws, By-laws, Usage, and Customs in Opposition to *English* Acts of Parliament.

You add farther at Page 16 " That this
" fierce Spirit of Liberty is stronger in the
" *English* Colonies, probably than in any other
" People upon Earth." I think so too: And I
will

will give a most striking Proof of it in the Liberty they took with, and in the Contempt they shewed to the Circular Letter even of their darling Advocate and Patron, Mr. Secretary PITT, now Lord CHATHAM. For when he wrote to them to desist from the infamous and traiterous Practices of supplying the Enemy with Provisions and Military Stores during a War, undertaken at their Request, and for their immediate Protection;—what Effect had this official authoritative Letter on their Conduct and Behaviour?—None at all. For they not only continued, but increased the Practice of supplying the Enemy with every Means of protracting the War;—greatly to their own Profit, it must be owned;—but to the lasting Detriment of this Country, whose Lands and Revenues are mortgaged for Ages to come, towards defraying the Expence of this ruinous, consuming War. Nay, such was the *fierce Spirit of Liberty* prevailing in our *English Colonies* on this trying Occasion, that the Provincial Governors dared not so much as commence a Prosecution against any of the numerous Offenders. And their Friends and Agents here at Home [You know best, whether Mr. BURKE was among the Number: Dr. FRANKLIN certainly was]—I say, their Friends and Agents were so far from being ashamed of such infamous and traiterous Practices, that they openly vindicated them

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them in our public News-Papers, pouring forth the bitterest Reproaches on Administration for attempting to restrain these Northern Merchants (such was the gentle Phrase) in the Pursuit of their undoubted and unalienable Rights and Liberties. After this, there is certainly no Need of any further Confirmation of your Assertion, *That the fierce Spirit of Liberty is stronger in the English Colonies probably than in any other People upon Earth.*

Now, as such is the Fact, you give us at Page 21 a Summary of the several Causes, which have produced it. "From these six capital Sources,—Of Descent, of Form of Government, of Religion in the Northern Provinces, of Manners in the Southern, of Education, of the Remoteness of Situation from the first Mover of Government:—From all these Causes [co-operating together] a fierce Spirit of Liberty has grown up."

I. AND first as to Descent. "The People of the Colonies (P. 16.) are the Descendants of *Englishmen*. *England*, Sir, [addressing yourself to the Speaker] is a Nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her Freedom. The Colonists emigrated from you, when this Part of your Character was most predominant. And they took this Bias and Direction the Moment they parted from your Hands. They are therefore not

B

" only

“ only devoted to Liberty, but to Liberty ac-
 “ cording to *English* Ideas, and on *English* Prin-
 “ ciples:---It happened, you know, Sir, that the
 “ great Contests for Freedom in this Country
 “ were from the earliest Times, chiefly upon
 “ the Question of *Taxing*.---The Colonies drew
 “ from you, as with their Life-Blood, these
 “ Ideas and Principles. Their Love of Li-
 “ berty, as with you, fixed and attached on this
 “ *specific Point of Taxing*.”

HERE, Sir, you tell some Truth; you dis-
 guise some; and you conceal more than you
 disguise.

OUR first Emigrants to *North-America* were
 mostly Enthusiasts of a particular Stamp. They
 were of that Set of *Republicans*, who believed,
 or pretended to believe, that *Dominion was*
founded in Grace. Hence they conceived, that
 they had the best Right in the World both to
tax, and to *persecute the Ungodly*. And they did
 both, as soon as they got Power into their Hands,
 in the most open and atrocious Manner. The
 Annals of the Quakers will tell you, that they
persecuted Friends even to the Death. And in
 regard to *Taxation*, if you will be so hardy as to
 assert, that they taxed none, but such as were
 represented in their Provincial Assembly, I will
 undertake to prove the contrary:---I will under-
 take to prove, that they themselves paid no
 Regard, in a Variety of Instances, to that very
 Point,

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Point, on which they insist so much at present in their Disputes with us, the Right of Representation, and of not being taxed without their own Consent.

IN Process of Time, the Notion, that Dominion was founded in Grace, grew out of Fashion. But the Colonists continued to be Republicans still, only Republicans of another Complexion. They are now Mr. LOCKE's Disciples; who has laid down such Maxims in his Treatise on Government, that if they were to be executed according to the Letter, and in the Manner the *Americans* pretend to understand them, they would necessarily unhinge, and destroy every Government upon Earth. I shall at present only mention the four following.

1. "THAT Men are by Nature all free, equal, and independent; and no Man can be put out of this Estate, without his own Consent."

Book 2, Chap. 8.

2. "THAT Governments have no Power over the Son, because of that which they have over the Father." Chap. 8.

3. "THAT submitting to the Laws of any Country, living quietly, and enjoying Privileges and Protection under them, makes not a Member of that Society;—because nothing can make any Man so, but his actually entering into it by POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT." Chap. 8.

B 2

4. "THAT

4. "THAT the Supreme Power cannot take
"from any Man *any Part* of his Property [that
"is, cannot Tax him] WITHOUT HIS OWN CON-
"SENT." Chap. 11.

Now, Sir, if these crude, undigested Notions
are to be understood absolutely, and without
Correction or Limitation;---and if such are the
true, original Ideas of *English* constitutional
Liberty,---I will frankly acknowledge, that
Great-Britain hath not so much as the Shadow
of a Right to tax the Colonies:---Nay, I will go
farther, and scruple not to declare, that she has
no Right to make any Regulation whatever re-
specting them, without their own express Con-
sent and full Approbation first obtained. But,
after having made this Concession, I hope you
will be so candid on your Part, as to acknow-
ledge, that no Government upon Earth did ever
yet subsist on such a Plan of wild, Utopian Li-
berty. And I do presume, that I do not ask too
much in making this Request; seeing that your
celebrated *American* Fellow Labourer, Dr.
PRIESTLY, has already gone a good deal farther.
For he has already informed the World, in
his Essay on Civil Government, that as all Go-
vernments whatever have been in some Measure
compulsory, tyrannical, and oppressive in their
Origin, THEREFORE they ought to be changed,
and new-modelled as soon as ever the People
[who,

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[who, N. B. according to him and Mr. LOCKE, have always an unalienable and indefeasible Right to change and alter, *what*, and *whenever they please*] shall feel themselves strong enough to throw off this Usurpation, and can bring about a glorious Revolution. Nay, another great Man, and Disciple of Mr. LOCKE, no less than the patriotic JEAN JAQUES ROUSSEAU (I think in his Letters from the Mountains) suggests an happy Expedient for accomplishing this desirable Work of perpetual Alterations. He proposes, that once a Year, at least, the People should assemble together for the express Purpose of consulting and debating, whether they should permit the same Form of Government, or the same Officers to continue for *one Year longer*; or change them all, and begin another Form, or try another Set. The People, you know, according to this republican Doctrine, are, in all Instances, the supreme Head, and Lord Paramount: And Government, even the best of Governments, ought implicitly to submit to their Authority and Controul. Therefore, whether the same Form of Government, or the same Administrators of it, shall be, or not be,---*that's the Question!*

THE *Americans* of late have acted very agreeably to this shifting Scene of *new Lords and new Laws*; for not only their general Congresses, and their Provincial Congresses, but
their

their Town-Meetings, their select Meetings, and their Liberty-Tree Meetings, have a natural Tendency to beget a popular, republican Spirit, and to subject every Degree of Magistracy and Government to the perpetual Controul and Caprice of the Mob. In short, it is already an established Maxim in that Country, *that the Voice of the People*,---is the VOICE OF GOD. And were any one to dare to gainsay it, Tarring and Feathering would be the mildest Punishment, which such a Rebel against this [Mob-cratic] Constitution could expect.

AND you, Sir, when you were enumerating them any signal Advantages we derive from our Connections with *America*, ought to have mentioned this among the rest:---You ought to have exulted, that the fierce *American* Spirit begins to operate so very rapidly here in *England*; and and to have expressed your Hopes that it will spread more and more, the longer we are connected with that People.

BUT perhaps you had your Reasons against being thus explicit.---It is a tender Point; and you have a very difficult Part to act. Certain it is, that both the *American*, and the *English* Republicans expect great Things from you: They expect, that you would assist them in reducing the Power of the Crown, and of the House of Peers to a mere Cypher;---or rather to abolish them totally, Root and Branch: And they

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they expect likewise, that you would co-operate with them in subjecting the House of Commons itself to the Instructions of Town-Meetings, select Meetings, Liberty-Meetings, &c. &c. &c. : And in short, that every Thing should be subjugated both within Doors, and without, *arbitrio popularis auræ*. On the other Hand, it is equally certain, that you are endeavouring to make Use of these factious Republicans, as the Tools and Instruments of your own Advancement, without gratifying them in their darling Object. This is a curious Farce, in which each Party must act at present under borrowed Characters; (for even the Republicans must, as yet, express their Wishes more by *dumb Shew*, than by open Declarations) and in which one, or other must be duped at last. But more of this hereafter.

II. THE second Scource you mention, from whence the fierce Spirit of the *Americans* is derived, is their Forms of Government strongly tending to become Republics. And here, as you had no Interest either to conceal, or to disguise the Fact, you have given us a just Representation of it. " Their [*the American*] Governments (Page 17) are popular in an high Degree. Some are merely popular; in all the popular Representative is the most weighty: " And this Share of the People in their ordinary " Government never fails to inspire them with
" lofty

“lofty Sentiments, and with a strong Aversion
“from whatever tends to deprive them of their
“chief Importance.”

BUT you insinuate, that you will not decide, whether this Indulgence to the Colonies at first, in granting them such popular [alias republican] Forms of Government, arose from *Lenity* or *Indolence*, from *Wisdom*, or *Mistake*. Alas! Sir, one can easily perceive by your very Insinuation and your Caution, that you had already decided this Point in your own Mind, tho’ you did not chuse to speak out. And indeed it is now evident to all, that if the Parent-State really intended to retain an actual and effectual Supremacy over her Colonies, (which was certainly her Intention) such Forms of Government were of all others the most unfit for that Purpose; and the most likely to beget a Spirit of Independence and Revolt. In fact, what was so likely to have happened, has actually come to pass, and would have come to pass in the natural and necessary Course of Things, tho’ the Stamp, or the Tea acts had never been thought of. And I agree with you, that it is now by much too late to think of correcting an Error, so strengthened by Time, and grown inveterate by Habit, that it may be said to be interwoven into the very Constitution of the present *Americans*. Here therefore, as we are agreed in the Fact, let every one draw his own Inference.

III. YOUR

III. YOUR third grand Cause is Religion:
On which Subject you deliver yourself in the
following Strain, at Pages 17 and 18.

“ If any Thing were wanting to this necessary
“ Operation of the Form of Government [to be-
“ get or infuse a fierce Spirit of Liberty] Religion
“ would have given it a complete Effect. Reli-
“ gion, always a Principle of Energy, in this new
“ People, is no Ways worn out or impaired. And
“ their Mode of professing it, is also one main
“ Cause of this free Spirit. The People are Pro-
“ testants; and of that Kind, which is the most
“ adverse to all implicit Submission of Mind and
“ Opinion. This is a Persuasion not only fa-
“ vourable to Liberty, but built upon it.---The
“ Dissenting Interests have sprung up in direct
“ Opposition to all the ordinary Powers of the
“ World; and could justify that Opposition
“ only on a strong Claim to natural Liberty.
“ Their very Existence depended on the power-
“ ful and unremitted Assertion of that Claim.
“ All Protestantism, even the most cold and
“ passive, is a Sort of Dissent. But the Religion
“ most prevalent in the Northern Colonies is a
“ Refinement on the Principle of Resistance;
“ it is the Diffidence of Dissent: And the Pro-
“ testantism of the Protestant Religion. This
“ Religion, under a Variety of Denominations,
“ *agreeing in nothing, but in the Communica-*
“ *tion of the Spirit of Liberty,* is predominant

“ in most of the Northern Colonies. The Calvinists left *England* when this Spirit was high, and in the Emigrants the highest of all.”

SIR, this Account is not exact, and stands in Need of some Correction. When the Emigrants fled from *England*, they were universally Calvinists of the most inflexible Sort. But they were very far from being of that Species of Protestants, whom you describe; and of which spreading Sect, there are but too many Profelites both in *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and *America*; I mean, the modern *new-light* Men, who protest against every Thing, and who would dissent even from themselves, and from their own Opinions, if no other Means of Dissention could be found out. Such Protestants as these are very literally PROTESTERS; but it is hard to say, what they are besides. And Fact it is, that they have no Manner of Affinity with the Calvinists of old respecting Church Government. For tho' the Calvinistical Emigrants were professed Enemies to the Popery of the Church of *Rome*, and to the Arminianism of the Church of *England*, yet were they no Enemies to religious Establishments. Nay, their great Aim was, to establish the *solemn League and Covenant*, as the only System which ought to be admitted into a Christian State. Nor would they have suffered any other religious Persuasion to have existed, if they could have prevented it. Moreover, tho' they

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 19

they were for pulling down proud and lordly Prelacy; yet were they most indefatigable in erecting Classes, and Synods, and Elderships, in the genuine Spirit of High-Church, Presbyterian Hierarchy, and armed with the Terrors and Powers of an Inquisition. In short, their Aim was to establish a republican Form of Government built on republican Principles both in Church and State. But, like all other Republicans ancient and modern, they were extremely averse from granting any Portion of that Liberty to others, which they claimed to themselves as their unalienable Birth-Right.

THE present Dissenters in *North-America* retain very little of the peculiar Tenets of their Fore-fathers, excepting their Antipathy to our established Religion, and their Zeal to pull down all Orders in Church and State, if found to be superior to their own. And if it be this you mean, by saying, that the dissenting Interests [in *America*] have sprung up in direct *Opposition* to all the ordinary Powers of the World; —and that the Religion most prevalent in the Northern Colonies is a *Refinement* on the Principles of *Resistance*; the *Dissidence* of *Dissent*, and the *Protestantism* of the Protestant Religion:—In short, if you ascribe the fierce Spirit now *raging* in the Northern Colonies to these Causes, I make no Objection to your Account of the Matter; provided you will allow that

the Religion of the Gospel is a very different Thing from theirs. But nevertheless I must beg the impartial World to judge between us, as to the *Conclusion* to be drawn from such Premises; and whether it be, or be not, a desirable Thing to continue a Connection with a People who are actuated by Principles so very repugnant to our own Constitution both in Church and State, and so diametrically opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel.

IV. To the before-mentioned Sources, from whence this ungovernable Spirit is derived, you add another, viz. The Domination of the Masters over their Slaves in the Southern Colonies. For it seems, he that is a Tyrant over his Inferiors is, of Course, a Patriot, and a Leveller in respect to his Superiors. And I am afraid, there is but too much Truth in this Observation. However, let us consider the Drift and Tendency of your own Expressions.—“ In *Virginia*, and the
 “ *Carolinas*, they have vast Multitudes of Slaves.
 “ Where that is the Case, in any Part of the
 “ *World*, those who are free, are by far the most
 “ proud and jealous of their Freedom. Free-
 “ dom is to them not only an Enjoyment, but a
 “ Kind of Rank and Privilege.—I do not mean
 “ to commend the superior Morality of this
 “ Sentiment, which has at least as much Pride,
 “ as Virtue in it: The Fact is so; and these
 “ People of the Southern Colonies, are much
 “ more

“ more strongly, and with an higher and more
 “ stubborn Spirit, attached to Liberty than those
 “ of the Northward. Such were all the antient
 “ Common-wealths; such were our Gothic An-
 “ cestors; such in our Days were the Poles; and
 “ such will be all Masters of Slaves, who are
 “ not Slaves themselves. In such a People the
 “ Haughtiness of Domination combines with the
 “ Spirit of Freedom, fortifies it, and renders it
 “ invincible.” P. 18, and 19.

HERE, Sir, you trace out many important
 Matters for our due Regard and Attention.
 And first of all, you suggest, that the Southern
 Colonies, who have such Multitudes of Slaves,
 and who, in Consequence thereof, are by far
 the weakest, standing in Need of our daily
 Protection, are nevertheless the most obstinately
 bent against contributing any Thing towards
 their own Defence. Why? Because they are by
 far the most proud and jealous of their Liberty;
 for in them the Haughtiness of Domination
 combines with the Spirit of Freedom: And
 therefore as they will not condescend to contri-
 bute any Thing towards their own Defence,
 we, who are not so proud and jealous, must
 submit to be their Guards and Centinels. And
 then perhaps, they *may* make us some Acknow-
 ledgments, or they *may not*;—according as it
 shall please their High Mightinesses! Grand
 and noble on their Part, it must be owned!
 Humiliating

Humiliating and mean on ours! Surely, Sir, one would have thought, that a very different Inference might have been drawn from such Premises:—One might have supposed, that it would not have been altogether unreasonable, or unjust to say, that if Men of such Principles will not contribute their fair Quota towards their own Preservation; let them take the Consequence; and let us give ourselves no further Concern about them.

BUT it seems, the antient Republics, and our Gothic Ancestors, the modern Poles, and all Masters of Slaves, who are not Slaves themselves, were, and are, in every Part of the World, possessed with the Haughtiness of Domination respecting others, and with an invincible Spirit of Freedom regarding themselves. Probable enough: The fierce Spirit of the *Goths* and *Vandals* was a Spirit of Freedom for themselves to do whatever they listed, at the Expence of the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the rest of Mankind: The modern Poles prosecuted just the same Plan over their Dependents; 'till a Tyrant arose of more extensive Power, and of greater Capacity, who has lately served some of them in the same Manner, in which they serve all their Vassals. As to the Institution of Slavery in any of our Colonies; let those be Advocates for it, who approve of it. For my Part, I am thoroughly convinced, that the Laws of Commerce,

merce, when rightly understood, do perfectly co-incide with the Laws of Morality; both originating from the same good Being, whose Mercies are over all his Works. Nay, I think it is demonstrable, that *domestic* or *predial* Slavery would be found, on a fair Calculation, to be the most onerous and expensive Mode of cultivating Land, and of raising Produce, that could be devised. And I defy you, with all your Learning and Acuteness, to produce a single Instance from History either antient or modern, of a Country being well cultivated, and at the same Time abounding in Manufactures, where this Species of Slavery (I mean the *domestic* or *predial*) is preferred to the Method of hiring free Persons, and paying them wages. In the mean Time, I do most readily subscribe to the Doctrine implied in your Description, viz. That the Masters of such Slaves, are, for the most Part, haughty, insolent, and imperious in private Life; and also, that they are turbulent and factious in respect to the Public, incessantly endeavouring to pull down and lay low, even with the Dust, every Order and Degree of Men above themselves. *Jura negant sibi nata.*

WITH respect to the ancient Republics (and you might have added the modern likewise) the same Remark holds good. The Haughtiness of Domination, generally speaking, renders these

these republican Governments the most insolent and tyrannical upon Earth. And it is observable, that their Subjects retain less of Liberty, both in Form and Substance, than most of the Subjects even of monarchical Governments. Now, that this is the Fact, I appeal to all Men of Reading, to all who have travelled, and to all who can make a just Observation on Men and Things. Nay, to go no farther than our own Country, the Specimen we had of the manifold Tyrannies, and grievous Oppressions (without even the Colour of Law) of those UPSTARTS, who called themselves, *The Common-Wealth of England*, after the Murder of King CHARLES I. I say, this Specimen is such, that no Man, either wise, or good, would wish to have the like Tragedies acted over again;---notwithstanding the high Encomiums, which some celebrated republican Writers of late have passed on those Times.

In short, Sir, very unfortunate have you been hitherto in heaping together such a Number of Arguments, and such Examples as these: All of which militate so very strongly against your own Conclusion. And yet what is to follow, will be found to do so much more strongly.

V. For 5th. You say (Page 19) " Permit me, Sir, to add another Circumstance in our Colonies, which contributes no mean Part towards

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“wards the Growth and Effect of this UN-
“TRACTABLE SPIRIT: I mean their Education.
“In no Country perhaps in the World is the
“Law so general a Study. The Profession itself
“is *numerous* and *powerful*; and in most Pro-
“vinces it takes the Lead. The greater Num-
“ber of the Deputies sent to the Congress were
“Lawyers. But all who read, and most do
“read, endeavour to obtain some Smattering
“in that Science. General GAGE marks out
“this Disposition very particularly in a Letter
“on your Table. He states, that all the Peo-
“ple in his Government are Lawyers, or Smat-
“terers in Law: And that in *Boston* they have
“been enabled by successful Chicane wholly to
“evade many Parts of your capital penal Con-
“stitutions. The Smartness of Debate will say,
“that this Knowledge ought to teach them
“more clearly the Rights of the Legislature,
“their Obligations to Obedience, and the Pe-
“nalties of Rebellion. All this is mighty well:
“But my honourable and learned Friend on
“the Floor [the Attorney General] who con-
“descends to mark what I say for Animadver-
“sion, will disdain that Ground. He has heard,
“as well as I, that *when great Honours, and*
“*great Emoluments do not win over this Know-*
“*ledge to the Service of the State, it is a formida-*
“*ble Adversary to Government.* If the Spirit be
“not tamed and broken by these happy Me-
D thods,

“thods, it is STUBBORN and LITIGIOUS. *Ab.*
 “*eunt studia in mores.* This Study renders
 “Men acute, inquisitive, dextrous, prompt in
 “Attack, ready in Defence, FULL OF RE-
 “SOURCES.”

SIR, you say, *In no Country perhaps in the World is the Law so general a Study.* True: And you might have added, That in no Country perhaps in the World are there so many Law-Suits, or so much open and bare-faced Chicane. An *American* Gentleman of great Discernment and good Sense assured me about the Time of the Stamp-Act, that if that Act would make the Going to Law so dear, as to lessen the Number of Law-Suits (but of that he doubted) it would become in the Event, tho’ not by Design, the greatest Blessing that ever could befall *America*. He observed further, that in one small District of about 800 taxable Persons, the Number of Law-Suits was so great in one Year, that I am afraid to repeat it after him; for nothing but the Character you give of the perverse Litigiousness and chicaning Disposition of this People, could make his Account appear credible. But leaving their own petty-fogging Tricks and Quirks to themselves, we will now consider this wrangling unhappy Turn of Mind, as it affects the Trade and Commerce, the Peace and Prosperity of *Great Britain*.

SIR,

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 27

SIR, the Trade to *North-America* (which, after all your pompous Accounts, I take upon me to aver, and DISPROVE IT, IF YOU CAN,) * is much less than that to *Holland* and *Germany*; yet this Trade alone has made more Bankrupts, and ruined more Merchant Exporters, for these fifty

D 2

Years

* The Amount of the Value of the Exports (extracted from the Custom-House Books) from *England* to *Holland* and *Germany*, for nine Years, viz. from *Christmas* 1763, to *Christmas* 1772, was

l. s. d.
30,294,126 11 3

The Amount of the Value of the Exports (taken from the same Books) and for the same Length of Time, from *England* to the present revolted *Provinces* of *America*, was only

— — — 20,061,023 3 8

According to this Account it appears, that *Holland* and *Germany* were better Customers to *England* than the revolted *Provinces* of *North-America*, during these nine Years, by the Sum of

— — — 10,233,103 7 7

Before a Comparison was drawn between the Trade to *North-America*, and the Trade to other Countries, where we have no Colonies, the general Cry of the Mal-contents was, Let us appeal to the Custom-House Books, and there you will find, that the Trade to our Colonies is worth all other Trades besides. This was the Language which Dr. FRANKLIN held, in my Hearing, about twenty Years ago. But, as I never believed him in any public matter, excepting in his Electrical Experiments, I was resolved to see with my own Eyes, whether what he advanced was true or not; having a strong suspicion that he fibbed designedly, like Sir HENRY WOTTON's Ambassador, *patriæ causa*. The Extract which I then obtained, is now mislaid. But I remember perfectly well, that the Balance was at that Time much greater in Favour of *Germany* and *Holland*, even than it is, at present, as given above. Nay, I think that the Exports

to

SIR,

Years last past, than almost every other Export-Trade besides. This is a Fact, which I am well persuaded, could have been no Secret to Mr. BURKE; yet, as he has studiously concealed it from his Hearers, or his Readers, I will, in Justice to them, endeavour to explain it in the best Manner I am able.

to *Holland* alone were then equal, or nearly equal, to the Value of all the Exports to *North-America*. And it is reasonable to suppose, that at *that Juncture*, the Case was not far distant from this State of it; for then we had not altogether spent 70,000,000l. Sterling in Defence of that Country; which Circumstance, as it greatly enriched the *Americans*, enabled them proportionably to extend their Trade, and to purchase much greater Quantities of Goods than they had done before. And we had not then drained ourselves of *Men* as well as Money, to fight their Battles, and to settle among them, to their Gain, but to our irreparable Loss:—Nor lastly, had the Emigrations from the different Parts of *Europe*, and especially from *Germany*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, then taken Place to the Degree they have since done; all which Circumstances conspire to swell the present Account in Favour of *America*, much beyond its due Size and real Value, and to lessen both the Consumption at Home, and our Exports to other Countries. For it is evident to a Demonstration, that if our old Customers will remove from *Germany*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, &c. or from among ourselves, to settle in *North-America*;—they cannot be *European*, and *American* Customers at the same Time; So that what we get in one Respect, we must lose in the other. And yet, with all these Advantages, and taking the *American* Trade at its most flourishing Period, *viz.* from the Year 1763 to the Year 1772, as above stated;—what is it to make such a mighty boast of? And why is our Commerce with other Countries so much vilified and degraded, if brought into Comparison with the Trade of *North-America*?—But I throw out these Reflections only as *Hints* at present, and reserve to myself a more full Consideration of the Matter in the Treatise that is to follow, *viz.* *An Address to the Landed Interest of Great-Britain and Ireland.*

THE

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 29

THE People of other Countries, *Holland, Germany, France, or Spain, &c. &c.* are, generally speaking, afraid of giving Orders for a greater Quantity of Goods, than they can see a Prospect of paying for. Not so in *North America*. For if you will give them *Credit*, they will give you *Orders* to what *Amount* you please. [I speak this in *general*, for undoubtedly there are *numerous* Exceptions.] And then, when the Time of Payment approaches, they are the very People you have described, *dextrous, prompt* in Attack, *ready in Defence*, and FULL OF RESOURCES: Some of which Resources, as practised between forty and fifty Years ago, I will lay before the Reader.

FIRST, after they had run so far in Debt, that they could be no longer trusted;—they required that the *English* Creditor should make his Appearance in their Courts of Law, or before some of their Magistrates, in order to prove his Debt. Now it is easy to see, that in many Cases, it would be better for the *English* Merchant to compound his Debt at any Rate, or even totally to relinquish it, than to prosecute the Recovery of it after this Manner. Then, secondly, they insisted, that their Lands, Houses, and Slaves were not liable to the Payment of Commercial or Book Debts, because they were not *Assets*;—though these Possessions were purchased, or procured by that very Credit, and those
very

very Capitals, which they had obtained from *England*. The Merchants of *Great-Britain*, finding themselves thus shamefully cheated of their Property, petitioned the Parliament for a Redress of Grievances; and obtained an Act the 5th of G. II. C. 7. *Anno* 1732, entituled, “ An Act for the more easy Recovery of Debts in his Majesty’s Plantations and Colonies in *America*.” In which Act there are special Clauses inserted for defeating both these Schemes of your ingenious Friends, the *Americans*. However, a People so full of Resources, as you have described them to be, soon recovered themselves from this Overthrow: For in a very few Years, they contrived another successful Mode of cheating their *English* Creditors: And the four *New England* Provinces, now in actual Rebellion, were particularly concerned in this Conspiracy. The Trick was, to issue out a Paper Currency, and to oblige the *English* Creditor to accept of it as a legal Tender, in full Discharge of all Demands. The *Englishman*, who, in *Great-Britain*, is not obliged by Law to accept even of a Bank-Note, as a Tender of Payment, was shocked and alarmed to the last Degree, at this repeated Attack upon his Property: And therefore applied again to the Legislature for Assistance and Protection. Nor did he apply in vain: For in the Year 1751, viz. 24th of G. II. C. 53, an Act was passed, entituled, “ An Act to regulate
“ and

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 3^r

“and restrain Paper Bills of Credit in his Majesty’s Colonies and Plantations of *Rhode-Island* and *Providence Plantations, Connecticut* and *Massachusetts Bay*, and *New Hampshire* in *America*; and [N. B.] to prevent the same being legal Tenders in Payment of Money.”

Now, Sir, you see even here, and without mentioning those numerous Instances of a growing Disposition to rebel; which occasioned the famous declaratory Law of 7th and 8th of WILLIAM III. C. 22. about 80 Years ago;—and without referring to the Archives of the Board of Trade, whose Presses are loaded with *English* Complaints and Memorials against *American* Injustice and Chicane, against their Violation of our Trade-Laws, and other bad Practices;—I say, without referring to any of these, and confining ourselves simply and solely to the Acts of Parliament here mentioned, it appears evident to a Demonstration, that the present Disputes with the Colonies derive their Origin from Causes much more ancient and remote, than either the Stamp, or the Tea Act. And it is really astonishing, that you should have the Courage even to insinuate the contrary;—much less to assert it, so peremptorily, as you do at P. 34. and in the Face of such stubborn Facts. But alas! All Things are now inverted. For that very Boldness, which nothing but a Conscientiousness of Truth, the *Mens conscia recti*, ought to

to inspire, is become the Privilege of the most bare-faced Falshoods.

BUT to return; after both these Acts of Parliament (obtained, not during the present, but during the late Reign;) one would have thought, that an effectual Stop had been put to *American Chicaning*, and *American Subterfuges*. Alas, Sir, no such Thing. Your Friends and Fellow-Labourers are ever *dextrous*, ever ready in *Defence*, and *full of Resources*. The Tricks last in Vogue as I am credibly informed (I mean, before ever the Stamp-Act was thought of) were to procrastinate a Law-Suit to an immoderate Length; which it seems, this People, *so addicted to the Study of the Law*, have discovered the Art of doing, at a very small Expence on their Part; and then, when they could ward off the Blow no longer, and when the Lands, Houses, and Effects must be sold, in Consequence of the afore-mentioned Act,—the *last Resource* was, to get a Friend to buy the Estate back again at the Public Vendue; in which Case these *good Men and true* were sure of favouring one another against the *common Enemy*. In short, it frequently came to pass, that the *English Creditor*, at the Foot of the Account, found himself so loaded with Expences and *Items* of various Kinds, that it was well for him, if the Sale of the Premises would defray the Charges, without taking into the Account
his

HENCE, Sir, and from a Variety of such Causes, it has actually come to pass, that so many Merchants of *London, Bristol, Liverpool,* &c. &c. have failed, and become Bankrupts, if they traded *chiefly* and *principally* to *North-America*:—And that so very few have acquired any considerable Fortunes by this Trade, notwithstanding the great Riches which have been acquired by almost all others.

E

jects

jects would be afraid to insult us with such shocking Provocations, as they have done with Impunity for many Years past. No neutral Power dares to attempt the like against *Great-Britain*. And in Case the *Americans* should ever betray a Disposition to return to their former Practices, a few Letters of Marque Ships sent upon their Coast, would soon teach these *Smatterers in the Law*, to be honest in Spite of their Teeth. Nay, the *Americans* themselves have not, as far as appears, practised these infamous Cheats on any *European* Nation, excepting the *English*. For tho' they have, for at least these last fifty Years, carried on an increasing Trade with *Holland* and *Germany*, with *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, either by Means of the *Dutch*, *French*, *Spanish*, or *Portuguese* Colonies, or by a more direct Communication;—yet they have, for the most Part, paid *ready Money* wherever the Balance was against them: And then they traded with the good-natured credulous *English* on *long Credit*; which induced them, when the Times of Payment drew on, to be guilty of the infamous Practices before described.

So much for their private Character respecting their commercial Intercourse with their Fellow-Subjects.—We will now consider the same People in another View,—in the Treatment they shew to that very Legislature, which
they

they themselves do *in Words and in Tongue* acknowledge to be supreme.

GENERAL GAGE, you say, declares in one of his Letters, that [as all the People in his Government “are either Lawyers, or Smatterers “in Law] they have in *Boston* been enabled by “Successful Chicane, wholly to evade many “Parts of one of our capital penal Constitutions.” Most probably this penal Statute was one of our Laws for the Regulation of their Trade, and for confining it to the Mother Country; which System of Laws you well know (tho’ you will not own it) has ever been their Aim either to undermine, or over-turn. And, Sir, if you will be pleased to attend to the very Terms made Use of, both by the Provincial, and General Congresses, in their respective Resolves, you will find, that these zealous Protestants, who are, in your Opinion, the very Quintessence of Protestantism, are nevertheless as great Adepts in the Science of Equivocation, and mental Reservation, as the most subtile Jesuit; you will find, that when they seemed to approach the nearest to a Compromise, they really intended to be as far distant from it as ever; and only used soothing and ambiguous Expressions in order to deceive the Unwary.—That this is the Fact, you may learn at once from that remarkable Expression in all their Congress Resolves, EVERY IDEA of Taxation. Now what is *every Idea*? What are its Limits and Boundaries?

daries? And who can fix the Meaning of so vague a Term? According to the Explanations which the *American* News-Papers, and their political Writers, have already given of this Phrase of doubtful Signification, it appears, that they intend to object under Cover of it, to every Restriction you can form for confining their Trade to the Mother-Country; seeing that the Sanctions or Penalties, by which such Regulations must be enforced, may be considered as coming under the Idea of Taxation. “For, say
 “they, every *English* Law, which either diminishes our Property, or deprives us of the
 “Means of acquiring it, is in Fact, a Tax laid
 “on the Inhabitants of *America* for the Benefit
 “of *England*.” And under this Head, they have already classed that Act of Parliament, which required the Billeting the Troops in their respective Provinces.

BUT lest, Sir, you should despise what I have here suggested, (what you often magisterially affect to do,) give me Leave to refer you to a Prophet of their own, who delivers his Oracles on this Head. “If, says he, the British Parliament has a legal Authority to order, that we
 “shall furnish a single Article for the Troops
 “here [in *America*,] and to compel Obedience to
 “that Order; they have the same Right to order
 “us to supply those Troops with Arms, Cloaths,
 “and every Necessary, and to compel Obedience to that Order: In short, to lay any Burdens
 “they

“ they please upon us: What is this but taxing
 “ us at a *certain Sum*, and leaving to us only
 “ *the Manner* of raising it? How is this more
 “ tolerable than the Stamp-Act? Would that
 “ Act have appeared more pleasing to *Ameri-*
 “ *cans*, if being ordered thereby to raise the Sum
 “ total of the Taxes, the mighty Privilege had
 “ been left to them of saying, how much should
 “ be paid for an Instrument in Writing on Pa-
 “ per, and how much for another on Parch-
 “ ment. AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT COM-
 “ MANDING US TO DO A CERTAIN THING, IF
 “ IT HAS ANY VALIDITY, IS A TAX UPON US
 “ FOR THE EXPENCE THAT ACCRUES IN COM-
 “ PLYING WITH IT.” [Letter 1st of the Letters
 from a Farmer in *America*, printed at *Philadel-*
phia; *London* re-printed for ALMON, P. 8.]

AND now, Sir, if it be possible to suppose,
 that any Thing further can be wanting to prove
 the Expediency, and even Necessity of separat-
 ing speedily from such a People, and so circum-
 stanced;---you yourself have furnished us with
 one grand Argument still more cogent than all
 the rest, under your next and concluding Head.
 Strong indeed, and very emphatical are your
 Words on this Occasion!

VI. “ THE last Cause of this DISOBEDIENT
 “ SPIRIT in the Colonies is hardly less powerful
 “ than the rest, as it is not merely *moral*, but
 “ laid deep in the *natural* Constitution of
 “ Things. *Three Thousand Miles of Ocean* lie
 “ between

“ between you and them. No contrivance can
 “ prevent the Effect of this Distance in Weak-
 “ ening Government. Seas roll, and Months
 “ pass, between the Order and the Execution :
 “ And the Want of a speedy Explanation of a
 “ single Point, is enough to defeat a whole
 “ System. You have indeed winged Ministers
 “ of Vengeance, who carry their Bolts in their
 “ Pounces to the remotest Verge of the Sea.
 “ But there a Power steps in, that limits the
 “ Arrogance of the raging Passions and furious
 “ Elements, and says, so far shalt thou go, and
 “ no farther. Who are you that should fret
 “ and rage, and bite the Chains of Nature?---
 “ *Nothing worse happens to you, than does to all*
 “ *Nations who have extensive Empires : And it*
 “ *happens in all the Forms to which Empire can*
 “ *be thrown.* In large Bodies, the Circulation
 “ of Power must be less vigorous at the Extre-
 “ mities. Nature has said it. The *Turk* can-
 “ not govern *Ægypt*, and *Arabia* and *Curdistan*,
 “ as he governs *Thrace* ; nor has he the same
 “ Dominion in *Crimea* and *Algiers*, which he has
 “ at *Boursa* and *Smyrna*. Despotism itself is
 “ obliged to *trud* and *huckster*. The Sultan
 “ gets such Obedience as he can. He governs
 “ with a loose Rein, that he may govern at all ;
 “ and the whole of the Force and Vigour of his
 “ Authority in his Centre, is derived from a
 “ prudent Relaxation in all its Borders. *Spain*
 “ in

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 39

“ in her [*American*] Provinces, is, perhaps, not
“ so well obeyed as you are in yours. She
“ complies too; *she submits, she watches Times,*
“ This is the immutable Condition, the eternal
“ Law, of extensive and detached Empire.”—
[Page 20.]

THE immutable Condition! the eternal Law!
Extensive and detached Empire! Pray, Sir,
on which Side of the Question were you retained?
And whose Cause are you now pleading? I have
heard of Lawyers in great Practice, who, thro’
Hurry and Inattention, mistook one Brief for an-
other, and then, pleading on a contrary Side to
that on which they were retained, did not per-
ceive their Error, ’till their Clients had lost their
Cause. Whether any Thing of the like Kind
has happened to you, is more than I can say.
But it is Matter of Astonishment to all, to your
own Friends and Admirers, as well as to others,
that you should bring such Arguments as these,
to prove the Necessity of continuing an Union
of Empire between *Great-Britain* and the de-
tached continental Powers of *North-America*.
You instance the Case of *Spain*: But to what
End or Purpose have you brought it into the
present Argument? For if it be, to display the
Benefit and Advantage of distant and extensive
Colonies, you surely are the most unfortunate
of all Men living in the Nature of your Proofs:
Spain being a striking Example, and a full Il-
lustration,

lustration of the direct contrary. *Spain*, Sir, as you well know, was, before it was seized with an epidemic Madness of settling Colonies in *America*, one of the richest, the best peopled, the best cultivated, and the most flourishing Country in *Europe*. It was said to have contained at least twenty Millions of Inhabitants: Its Cities were numerous and opulent, abounding with Manufactures of various Kinds, and particularly with those of Silk and Wool. But now alas! how fallen! what is *Spain*! where are its Manufactures! where its Inhabitants!

THE last Enumeration of its Inhabitants was, I think, in the Year 1766: And the Numbers then given in were between six and seven Millions of Persons of an Age sufficiently adult to receive the Sacrament at *Easter*. The Question therefore between you and me is reduced to a few single Points, simple in themselves, and easy to be understood, viz. 1st. Whether *Spain*, with its present Number of Inhabitants (or if you please, with *double its present Number*) and also with vast and extensive Colonies in *South-America*, is richer and stronger than it was, with its Twenty Millions formerly, and without any Colonies at all? And 2dly. What prudential Course ought *Spain* to take in its present Situation,---Whether to call off as many *American* Subjects as it can, and then entirely to abandon

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 41

abandon all those immense and distant Regions, *which it cannot govern*, turning its Cares wholly to the *re-peopling*, and improving of *Old Spain*? Or whether to go on still in its present Mode, *trucking and huckstering*, and *getting such an Obedience as it can* [which you say is the Case even with the Grand Turk] *watching Times*, governing and submitting by Turns, and *complying with this American Spirit as with a necessary Evil*? Now, Sir, as these are the Questions to be decided; let the impartial World judge between, and determine for us. And after that Decision, let an Application be made, *mutato nomine*, to *Great-Britain* and her Colonies.

Two Words more about *Spain*, and I have done. The first is, that before the Discovery of *America*, there were upwards of 30,000 Hogsheads of Sugar raised in the Kingdom of *Granada*; and all raised by free People, without domestic, or predial Slavery. Whereas at present there are hardly any. Why? Because *Spain* has now Sugar Colonies in *America*; and the making of Sugar in *Granada* would interfere with their Interests. We have, I think, made no less than six Acts of Parliament here in *England*, on a similar Plan, to prevent the Cultivation of Tobacco, in order to favour the Colony of *Virginia*.

THE second is, that the only Province in all *Spain*, which seems to begin to lift up its Head, and to get a little forward in Population, Agri-

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culture,

culture, and Manufactures, is the province of *Catalonia*. And the Reason is, because *Catalonia* is happily by its Situation the farthest removed from the baleful Influence of Colony-Connections, and suffers the least by Emigrations.

AND now, Sir, as if the six Causes, which you had already produced, were not enough to overthrow your whole System, you are so kind, in the Sequel, as to present me with two more, which prove very strong Arguments against yourself. The first is the *growing Population* of the Colonies, which you say [P. 24] is evidently *one Cause of their Resistance*. And therefore in whatever Ratio this Population is to be supposed to increase, in the same must their Resistance increase with it, and our Authority decrease. The other Cause of Resistance is, the prodigious Expansion of the Back-Settlements. “Many of the People in the Back-Settlements are already little attached to particular Situations. Already have they topped the *Apalachian* Mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense Plain, one vast, rich, level Meadow, a Square of Five Hundred Miles. Over this they *would* wander, *without a Possibility of Restraint*. [And surely, Sir, if it is *impossible* for us to restrain them, undoubtedly they *will* wander whenever they chuse so to do.] “They would soon change their Manners with the Habits of their Life ;
— would

“ would soon forget a Government by which
 “ they were disowned: Would become Hords
 “ of *English* Tartars; and pouring down upon
 “ your unfortified Frontiers a fierce and irre-
 “ sistible Cavalry, become Masters of your Go-
 “ vernors, and Counsellors, your Collectors and
 “ Comptrollers, and of all the Slaves that ad-
 “ hered to them.” [Page 24.]

THANKS to you, Sir, for these kind, and pro-
 phetic Declarations! The Description alone is
 sufficient; without staying to put the Matter to
 an actual Trial. And if after this, we will per-
 sever in retaining Governors and Counsellors,
 Collectors and Comptrollers in such a Country,
 on any Account, or under any Modification
 whatever, we deserve to suffer all that you have
 predicted. For indeed, whether the Colony
 was placed in *Asiatic*, or *American Tartary*, the
 Folly and Absurdity of pretending to govern
 such a Colony, and to make it subservient to
 the Purposes of Commerce, is just the same.
 Nature opposes it, as you justly observe: And
 Nature will be obeyed.

BUT I forget:—You have a Scheme of your
 own to propose: A Scheme, which will remove
 all Difficulties, be they ever so great; an *infallible*
 Scheme, which can unite the most distant
 Situations, reconcile the most jarring Interests,
 the most opposite Principles, and discordant Tem-
 pers;—A Scheme in short, which, as you say on
 another Occasion, will *annihilate both Space and*
Time,

Time, and make two Lovers happy.—"The Proposition is PEACE. [Page 5.] Not Peace thro' the Medium of War; not Peace to be hunted thro' the Labyrinths of intricate and endless Negotiations; not Peace to arise out of universal Discord, fomented from Principle, in all Parts of the Empire; not Peace to depend on the juridical Determination of perplexing Questions: or the precise marking the shadowy Boundaries of a complex Government. It is simple Peace, sought in its natural Course, and its ordinary Haunts,---It is Peace sought in the Spirit of Peace, and laid in Principles purely pacific."

WHAT a pompous Description is here!

—*Mulier formosa superne,
Definit in piscem*—

FOR after all, what is this Heaven-born pacific Scheme, of which we have heard so laboured an Encomium? Why truly*; *if we will grant the*

* See the thirteen Propositions printed at the End of Mr. BURKE's Speech, Pages 63, 64, and 65. The Sum total of which may be thus expressed, BEAR and FORBEAR. "Bear with, and submit to the Colonies in every Thing, while they continue to acknowledge the same Head of the Empire, the same King with ourselves:---But *forbear* to compel them, directly or indirectly, to make any Provision either for the general Defence of the Empire, or for the particular Uses of their King, towards whom they professed such Loyalty,---if they are not voluntarily
"rily

the Colonies all that they shall require, and stipulate for nothing in Return; then they will be at Peace with us. I believe it; and on these simple Principles of simple Peace-making I will engage to terminate every Difference throughout the World: I say, throughout the World: For even your own *Diffidends* of *American* Dissenters, whom you have described as the most difficult of all Men living to be pleased, cannot, I should think, ask for more, than to have their Demands always granted, whenever they make them.

It is, Sir, a Thing worthy of Observation in your Writings, that whenever you are advancing some strange Paradox, which will not bear a Discussion

“rily disposed to make these Grants.” Mr. BURKE may not approve of this Comment on his Doctrine, because it develops his Meaning a little too plainly, and *mal-a-propos*. But I appeal to the World, Whether his Scheme of Pacification can be understood, I mean *practically* understood, in any other Sense? In these thirteen Propositions every Demand of the Colonies is complied with in *Effect*, tho’ not *totidem verbis*. And this Compliance or Concession is to be considered, not as some temporary Indulgence, or Matter of Favour to be resumed at Pleasure;---but as a Matter of Right, and as the Terms of the solemn League and Covenant, which the two *British* Nations of *Europe*, and *America* are to enter into, and as a GRAND SOCIAL COMPACT to remain inviolable for ever. Therefore the natural Question is, What is granted, or to be granted, to *Great-Britain* in Return for such Concessions?---Nothing at all. But is it not stipulated, That the *North-Americans* shall, for the future, at least bear their own Expences? No, by no Means. They are to have the sole Power either of granting, or of refusing to grant, any Money even for their

Discussion in open Day, there you attempt either to envelope yourself in such a Cloud of Metaphors, as may prevent your Readers from seeing what you are about;---or else to draw up your Paragraphs with such Guards and Salvoes, that while you present one Sense to your Readers, you reserve another for yourself in Case of Attack. Of the former of these I have given some glaring Instances already; and shall now exhibit some Specimens of the latter.

At Page 52, you say, "I do not know, " that the Colonies have, in *any general Way*, " or in any *cool Hour*, gone *much beyond* the " Demand of Immunity in relation to Taxes. " It is not fair to judge of the Tempers and " Dispositions of any Man, or of any Set of

their own establishments. Now, if they should refuse to make these necessary Grants, as they have frequently done, what Course is to be taken with them? Are we to compel them to make Provision for their own Services? No, by no Means: For this is contrary to the express Words of the intended Treaty. Are we then to abandon them, and give them up, telling them, that we will not be troubled any longer with such unreasonable People? Nor that: For, provided they shall continue to acknowledge the same King, the same general Head of the Empire whom we acknowledge, they will have fulfilled all their Engagements:---And *Great-Britain* must do the rest. Therefore the Words of the Orator, at Page 58, are both just and emphatical:---" Mine [my Plan] is GRATUITOUS, and UN- " CONDITIONAL, and not held out as a Matter of Bargain " and Sale." Indignant Reader, make thy own Reflections! Had we been absolutely conquered by the Arms of *America*, what other Terms of Slavery could have been imposed upon us?

" Men

TO EDMUND BURKE, Esq. 47

“Men, when they are composed, and at rest,
“from their Conduct or their Expressions, in a
“State of Disturbance and Irritation.”

Now a plain, honest Man, not aware of your mental Reservations, would think, that you had expressly told him, that before the Colonies were *provoked* by the Stamp-Act, they were all Love and Duty to the Mother-Country; and that 'till this fatal Period, they had never manifested any Disobedience to her Authority, or shewn the least Reluctance to comply with her Demands: But as you know the contrary, you were unwilling to risque the Merits of your Cause on this Issue: And have cautiously added, that the Colonies have not in *any general Way*, in their *cool Hours* gone much beyond, &c. &c. Therefore should I undertake to prove that the Colonies, as far back as the Year 1696, manifested a strong Disposition to set up Laws, Bye-laws, Usages and Customs in Opposition to the Navigation-Act, and other Acts of the like Tendency, (where Taxation was out of the Question)—your Reply is ready: “The Colonies
“might be then in a State of Disturbance and
“Irritation: And I had only affirmed, that they
“did not break out into Acts of Disobedience
“in their *cool Hours*.” Or if I could prove, (which I think I can) that in the Year 1696, there was no Appearance of Disturbance or Irritation in the Colonies, but that all was peace-
able;

able,—you then can have Recourse to your other Distinction, viz. “That their Reluctance
 “to comply with *particular* Acts of Parliament,
 “which they esteemed to be peculiarly oppressive,
 “was very consistent with their Conduct
 “as good Subjects in *general*.” In short, by the Help of these Distinctions and mental Reservations every Instance of their Disaffection and Disobedience to, and Ill-treatment of, their Parent State may be accounted for, palliated and glossed over: And nothing will remain for us at Home, but to take Shame to ourselves for having brought such a frivolous Accusation. Their tempting General BRADOCK to set forward on a March, and then refusing to supply him with necessary Provisions at the Places appointed, unless he would advance the Price, which had been agreed upon, to a most enormous Height;—and after all deceiving him [would to God, that we had taken Warning by this Treachery, and left them, and the *Indians* to have fought their own Battles;] their aiding and abetting our declared Enemies, the *French* and *Spaniards*, during a War undertaken for their Sakes;—their refusing to pay their just Debts to their *English* Creditors, while they were trafficking with other Nations for ready Money; with numberless other Artifices and Chicaneries, which are daily practised by these *Smatterers in the Law*; all, all are to be veiled over by these
 dif-

disingenuous Sophistries, and pitiful Evasions. But what is still more extraordinary, their very Grants of Money, of which you make your Boast with peculiar Exultation; I mean their own Grants made in their own Assemblies, and for the particular Uses and Defences of their own Provinces during the last War, are a further Illustration of this Matter. Sir, by your Manner of expressing yourself on this Head, P. r6. you have endeavoured to make the good People of *England* believe, that the *Americans* have been the most liberal People upon Earth of their Grants of Money; provided there was a Requisition made to them in due Form and Manner, and that there was a just and sufficient Reason alledged for making such a Requisition. How surprized therefore will they be to hear so different an Account given of this Matter by the most unexceptionable of all Witnesses, even by themselves! The Authority I shall quote at present, as being the most recent, and likely to be contradicted, had it been false, is the Speech of Governor FRANKLIN made to the Assembly of *New Jersey*, May 16, 1775: "The Necessity of some supreme Judge [whether, and when each Province contributes its just Quota for the general Service] is evident from the very Nature of the Case; as otherwise some Colonies might not contribute their due Proportion. During the last War, I well remember, it was ardently wished by some of the

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" Colonies,

“ Colonies, that others, who were thought to
 “ be delinquent, might be *compelled by Act of*
 “ *Parliament* to bear an equal Share of the pub-
 “ lic Burdens. It appears by the Minutes of
 “ Assembly, in *March* and *April* 1758, that
 “ some of the neighbouring Colonies, thought
 “ *New Jersey* had not at that Time contributed
 “ its due Share towards the Expences of the
 “ War; and that President READING (the then
 “ Commander in Chief of the Colony) was of
 “ the same Opinion. And since my Admini-
 “ stration, when the Assembly in 1764 was
 “ called upon to make Provision for raising
 “ some Troops on Account of the *Indian* War,
 “ they declined doing it for some Time, but on
 “ Condition a Majority of the Eastern Colo-
 “ nies, as far as to include *Massachusetts-Bay*
 “ should come into his Majesty's *Requisition* on
 “ the Occasion. But [N. B.] as none of the
 “ Assemblies of the *New-England* Governments
 “ thought themselves *nearly* concerned, *nothing*
 “ *was granted by them*: And the *whole Burden* of
 “ the Expedition then carried on, fell upon *Great*
 “ *Britain* and three or four of the middle Co-
 “ lonies, with which this Colony was dissatisfied,
 “ and the Assembly complained of it in one of
 “ their Addresses to me on the Occasion.”

Now, Sir, in this Extract from Governor
 FRANKLIN'S Speech, you see, that both Fact
 and Argument directly confute your fine-spun

aerial

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erial Theory of a *voluntary Revenue*, for the general Support even of the *American* Part of the Empire;---without hinting a Word about the *European* Interests of *Great-Britain*. For, here, all their Governments were left to their own free Choice, without the Shadow of a Compulsion. Here the Parliament did not interfere at all: Nor did the King interfere in any other Mode, than by *Requisition*; and that too for their own Sakes, and for the Sake of their Sister-Colonies. Yet, what was the Consequence?--Why, all the Governments throughout the Continent, excepting three or four of the middle ones, granted,---“ the voluntary “ Flow of heaped up Plenty, [Page 59] burst- “ ing from the Weight of its own rich Luxu- “ riance, ever running in a most copious Stream “ of Revenue;”---that is to say, they granted, JUST NOTHING AT ALL: And poor *England*, with what tiny Assistance it could draw from these three or four middle Colonies, was forced to *bear all* the Burden, as is usually her hard Fate. Nay more, the Reason given, why the *New-England* Governments refused to contribute *any Share* in Aid of their Sister-Colonies, is a Circumstance, which, I hope, no Inhabitant of *Great-Britain* or *Ireland* will pass over, without due Attention, and without making a Self-Application to his own Cause and Country, viz. These *New-England* Governments did not think

themselves *so nearly interested* in the Consequences of an *Indian War*, as the other, middle Colonies were.

*Anglia quid rides? Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.*

THEREFORE, my *European Fellow-Subjects*, if *Great-Britain* or *Ireland* should at any Time have a *European* * Quarrel on their Hands, you know already, what Assistance you are to expect from the *Fellow-Feelings* of your benevolent *Fellow-Subjects* in *America*.

HOWEVER, had we been destitute of Governor FRANKLIN's Testimony of the Refusal of the Colonies to contribute any Thing towards the Relief of others, *where their own Interests are not immediately concerned*; we might have been supplied, even out of your own Stores, with very strong and cogent Reasons against depending on such *voluntary Grants* from our dutiful Sons of *North-America*. For you, Sir, according to your usual *Flow of heaped-up Plenty, bursting from the Weight of your own rich Luxuriance, ever running in a most copious Stream*;---you, Sir, in plain *English*, are continually furnishing me with Plenty of Arguments against yourself.

* The Instances, which Mr. BURKE has brought at Page 46, to prove that the Colonies, or rather that a few out of the many Colonies, have been liberal in their Grants to *Great-Britain*, during the Continuance of a *privateering, smuggling, trucking, and huckstering American Sea-War*, in which they were sure to be the greatest Gainers; shall be particularly considered in an ensuing Treatise, An Address to the landed Interest of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

You

You have, for Example, taken uncommon Pains to expose and confute the System of Lord NORTH for obtaining an *American Revenue*, by obliging each Province to furnish its Contingent; which you very humorously describe by the Idea of setting up a State-Auction in the Anti-Chamber of the Premier. And I do freely acknowledge, that the Objections you have started against this Mode of Taxation, seem to me unanswerable. [Though, I trust, you will have more Generosity, than to tell the Prime Minister, *that this is my Opinion*; least he should deny me a Bishoprick, which you say I am aiming at; and which certainly is not likely to be obtained by this Manner of Proceeding.] But alas! while you were so eager in demolishing the ministerial Citadel for *compelling an American Taxation*,---you forgot, that by the very same Means, you were undermining your own Edifice for a *gratuitous Revenue*.

For 1st.---It plainly appears, that even your own Plan for obtaining a gratuitous Revenue, *from such a People* as you have described, cannot succeed, in *Fact*, without both an Auction-Room, and an Auctioneering-Hammer. Indeed you yourself are so conscious of the Truth of this Observation, that, at Page 59, you do not scruple to represent the Matter in a Point of View still more dishonourable and base, by borrowing the Idea of a Set of Gamblers crouding round a gaming Table. “The Parties are the
“Game-

“Gamesters; but Government keeps the Table and is sure to win at last.” Now, which of these two delicate Similes, the Auction-Room, or the gaming Table, you choose to prefer, in order to do Honour to your *American* Friends and *Patrons*, is a Matter of Indifference to me. But one Thing is certain, that if any Revenue, in any Shape, or on any Terms, is to be obtained from such honourable Assemblies, as you have here described; those who *harangue*, and *lead*, and *govern* in each Assembly must be *bought off*:---Or as you elegantly phrase it, on a similar Occasion, “They must be won by great Honours and great Emoluments [all at the Expence of *Old England*] to the Service of the State; otherwise they will prove very formidable Adversaries to Government; They will grow stubborn and litigious; become prompt in Attack, ready in Defence, and full of Resources.” And therefore it must undoubtedly follow, that the more free and unrestrained these patriotic, gaming, or auctioneering Demagogues shall become, the more they will pride themselves on their own Importance, and the higher will be the Price, which they will demand for their Services to *Great-Britain*.

BUT, 2dly.---You bring another Objection against Lord NORTH’s Scheme at P. 55, which militates much more strongly against your own. Your Words are, “Suppose the Colonies were to lay the Duties which furnished their
Con-

“*Contingent*, upon the Importation of your Ma-
 “nufactures; you know you would never suf-
 “fer such a Tax to be laid. You know too,
 “that you would not suffer many other Modes
 “of Taxation.” Now, if instead of the Word
Contingent, which is Lord NORTH’s, we insert
Free-Gift, which is yours; I ask any Man of
 plain, common Sense, whether the Objection is
 not at least equally strong against your Plan, as
 against his?---In Fact it is much stronger. For
 as there would not be that *legal* and *constitutional*
 Call for making voluntary *Presents*, as for fur-
 nishing necessary *Contingents*; the Consequence
 would be, that both the Provincial Represen-
 tatives, and their Constituents would naturally
 say, if the *rich English* Nation will expect *Pre-*
sents from us *poor Americans*, we must raise
 them by laying Taxes on their own Manufac-
 tures;---And then, whatever such Imposts may
 amount to, they will in the Event promote the
 Industry and Manufactures of our own Coun-
 try:---I say, this is the natural Language, which
 most Men would hold on such an Occasion, and
 more especially *Americans*. But you, Sir, I
 own, have a very different Idea of Men, and
 Things. You say at Page 60, “My Hold of the
 “Colonies is in the close Affection, which
 “grows from *common Names*, from kindred
 “Blood, from similar Privileges, and equal Pro-
 “tection. These are Ties, which, though light
 “as Air, are as strong as LINKS OF IRON.”

Alas!

Alas! dear Sir, *England* has already to its Cost, found all these Ties and Connections, to be, indeed, light as Air! Yes, I say --- *England* has experimentally found them to be *no Links* at all, if put into Competition with *present Interest*; much less to be *Links of Iron*:---She has, I repeat and insist upon it, made this unwelcome Discovery concerning Colony-Gratitude, even from the Moment that each Infant-Colony could stand alone, without the Assistance of the Parent-State.

In short, there is something astonishingly absurd in the very Supposition, that a People so addicted to Chicane, as you have painted these *Americans* to be; and who most undoubtedly have devised many disingenuous Artifices against paying their just Debts to their *English* Creditors;---should all on a sudden, by the mere Magic of your enchanting Metaphors, be so changed and altered, as not only to become very honest, very exact, and punctual in their Dealings; but also very liberal, generous, and munificent. And here again, I willingly submit to be ranked in the Number of those poor, ignorant Beings, whom you condescend to mention at Page 61. “All this I know well
 “enough, will sound *wild* and *chimerical* to the
 “PROFANE HERD of those vulgar and mechanical Politicians, who have no Place among
 “us [in the House of Commons;] a Sort of
 “People, who think that nothing exists but
 “ what

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“ what is gross and material; and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be Directors of the great Movement of Empire, are not fit to turn a Wheel in the Machine.”

Now, Mr. Director of the great Movement of Empire! Will you permit (and it is the only Boon I ask) an obscure Person, whose Province it is to turn only one of the inferior Wheels,--- I say, will you permit me to appear in your Presence, whilst you are personating a great Minister of State in this new-intended patriotic Administration?

*O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium,
Presens vel imo tollere gradu
Mortale corpus, vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos!*

THE first Act of your Directorship will undoubtedly be

————— *Superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos!*

That is, to turn out the present Set of Ministerial Blunderers, *that profane Herd of vulgar and mechanical Politicians*, who fancy, that Officers are necessary to collect a Revenue, and Laws to enforce the Payment;---then to repeal every penal Statute for compelling the good People of *England* to pay Taxes *against their own Consent*;---to discharge, of Course, those gross and material Beings, called Custom-House

H

Officers,

Officers, Excise-Men, &c. &c. &c. and to trust entirely to the copious Revenue which shall arise from the *voluntary Flow of heaped-up Plenty, bursting from the Weight of its own rich Luxuriance*, FREE GIFTS AND VOLUNTARY DONATIONS. Methinks, Sir, I see you acting your grand ministerial Part, with great Dignity and Propriety in this new and busy Scene. Methinks I see vast Crouds around you, all pressing forwards, all joyfully pouring forth their *free-will Offerings* for the Service of the State, in the *exuberant Plenty* of rich Luxuriance. And I too, who never was at a ministerial Levee but three Times in my Life, and that about twenty Years ago,---I also wish most ardently to attend on such an Occasion. And that I may not come empty-handed, for we shall all be *Givers*, and no *Receivers*, I will humbly beg Leave to bring this Pamphlet with me, and to lay it at your Feet, in Token of that Duty, Gratitude, and Respect, with which I have the Honour to be,

Great and worthy Sir!

Your most devoted, and

Most obedient humble Servant,

JOSIAH TUCKER.

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